[For the translation into English of various Masai grammatical terms, see category 193.]

Chap. III.

§ 193 This group consists of substantives which form their plural in -i. In some instances -i is simply added to the singular, in others -i is preceded by a vowel, and in others again the last two or three letters of the singular are changed into -ch, -sh, or -k. This class includes words indicating (a) states or callings, (b) parts of the body. A few other words also form their plural in the same manner.

Examples of the first division:

Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-ayiani	Il-ayianich	The man.
Ol-aiton	Il-aitonik	The old man, the husband.
Il-ayeriyiani	Il-ayeriyich	The woman, wife.
Ol-aiyo	Il-aiyoik	The grandfather or grandson.
En-gitok	En-gitoch	The wife.
Ol-ayeiani	Il-ayeiach	The father or son-in-law.
Ol-aiyeiani	Il-aiyeiach	The chief.
Ol-ayeyanani	Il-ayeyanich	The counsellor, spokesman.
Ol-aiton	Il-aitonik	The medicine-man.
Ol-aiyanchai	Il-aiyanchik	The hunter.
Ol-ayeiai	Il-ayeiach	The thief.
Ol-ayeyiani	Il-ayeyich	The magician.
Ol-aiyeiani	Il-aiyeiach	The leader.
Ol-aiyiani	Il-aiyich	The poor man.
Ol-aaiyiani	Il-aaiyich	The wizard.
Ol-aiton	Il-aitonik	The dancer, artist.
Ol-aiyiani	Il-aiyich	The herdsman.
Ol-aaiyiani	Il-aaiyich	The beggar.
Il-aiyiani	Il-aiyich	The kind person.
Ol-ayiani	Il-ayich	The destroyer, brother.
Ol-aiyiyiani	Il-aiyiyich	The dreamer, prophet.
Ing-ayeni	Ing-ayich	The widow.
En-kiteton	En-kitetonik	The offspring.

Examples of the second division:

Ol-kiaujiai	Il-kiaujik	The finger, toe*).
Ing-ulu	Ing-uk	The arm, hand.
En-gijo	En-gijuk	The leg, foot.
Ol-kiju	Il-kijuk	The cheek.
Ol-aka	Il-ak	The knee.
Il-aiba	Il-aibunik	The horn.
Ing-olgo	Ing-oigik	The eye.

[193] * The thumb is called Ol-kiaujiai-lolok, ol-kiaujiai-ayeki, or ol-aiyo-lolok (the leg or the finger), or the leg ol-meri; the first finger, Il-aaiyiani or Ingolokiai (the wizard); the middle finger, Il-kaeni (the sing of guilt she winds to warn on the finger); the third finger, Ilpiro-Kiaujiai (Kiaujiai's mother); the little finger, Il-kiaujiai-ai (the small finger), Kiaujiai or Ilo-ngolok (people count).

THE DOROBO AND THE GIRAFFE 231

Ore, o-o-le el-lâne e-ind-ori, o-o-tum
Well, and-he-goes the-other he-kills-himself, and-he-eats

lâle! le'-e-gyyer o'-l-chani e-ind-ori,
that-one on-the-day of-the-tree. he-kills-himself.

Ore ɛ' e-ipir eng-ulidig', o-o-lita
Now when it-does-be-opposite-to the-sun, and-he-comes

el-matet e-lâsho le'-l-chani, o-o-ipiri-tâi
the-giraffe he-stood by-the-tree, and-he-him-jumps-on

el-Turtûni, o-o-lodig el-gos.
the-Dorobo, and-he-him-misses the-throat.

E-o-ipiri ɛ' nâyo el-matet, o-o-kwet,
And-he-jumps also he the-giraffe, and-he-runs,

o-o-tâ el-Turtûni eng-uridig, o-o-ipat el-lâne
and-he-is-there the-Dorobo the-back, and-he-eats the-other

ɛ' o-ot-tâi, o-o-je: 'Le-pan(ito'),
of-him he-him-helps, and-he-says: 'Le-pan(ito),

i'-yo-o eng-ulum! Ta-sala! Mi-ingo'!'
bring the-knife! Strike-(him)! Not-(him)-pass-make-to!'

Ore o-ong o-je ɛ́ɛja, o-o-kwani lâle
Now he-sings to-me thus, and-he-laughs that-one

e-ind-ori ɛ́ɛ me-ɛ-tum,
the-hidden-himself-one until may-he-die.

Ore lâle ɛ́ɛl eng-gyyer o'-l-matet ɛ́ɛ-kore
Now that-one when-he-there the-day of-the-giraffe no-longer

o-dung-o o-je o-ɛ́ɛ eng-ulum le'-e-lâne
he-remembers to-me (or that) he-has the-knife in-the-him.

Ore ɛ' o-le en-o-e-lâwa,
Now when he-goes the-thick (or wives)-it-is-fat,

o-o-lum-o 'ljore o-ɛ́ɛ eng-ulum, o-o-kâ-o,
and-he-remembers that he-has the-knife, and-he-is-cuts-him,

o-o-ɛ́ɛ en-kîlig, o-o-ê,
and-he-cuts the-rope-of-the-neck, and-it-dies.

E-o-lasiar e-ɛ́ɛg e-ɛ́ɛ-ɛ́ɛ tâle,
And-he-butchers he-eats the-portion one,

o-o-lang-o eng-ɛ́ɛ-ɛ́ɛ le'-l-chani, o-o-le
and-he-put-on-his-other-self the-fat of-the-kidneys, and-he-goes

o-o-j el-lâne, o-ilgor-ɛ́ɛ ɛ́ɛ-ɛ́ɛ o-ɛ́ɛ,
to-him the-other, he-look-children if he-is-there,

* *Or* ɛ́ɛ-ɛ́ɛ-lap. † [Pan]ito means the giver or receiver of a love-token.
‡ Do not let him pass.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nna, ten ilk en-gigyi-kenei, aitua 'Ngitenye ake 'n-dikilio.

If a lady dies, the mother only lays aside her ornaments[1].

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Il-kerja en 'l-enemigi[2] loo-'l-oolgenak, en 'l-aeuria.

Too sina en-aak el-oolgusi, elj sina en-oolodge el-due loeye. Nna, ten ilk el-oolgusi, en 'l-donai, aak ali el-due loeye. Kilj eilipi nana 'n-gisio: aaloiki el-due egio.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3].

795

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyænas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4].

[763]

Kake ten ilk el-chani aaaki el-kerria, meechani, ere pe elgwiye e-nanu loeye, elj siawua el-due loeye, sina el-aaurai; aaio el-aaurai eng-elg en-'n-gura enyena, aoilgurua.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.

766
795
805

Ti-aaaki naa aeja, pe aatar il-Kunono 'l-aauria loeye. Nna, ten aitul i-dgwiyuk el-aaurai ti-aji, aaaaki kalla, aaaaj el-aaurai, aaio.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pushes some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away.

795
805

Elil 'l-aauria aaaaak, naa le'n-gisiatani en-'l-dimer; naa, ten ilo ilkaa eili 'l-aapaiy, aeja: "Kiaa, aaaa 'l-kolonelig"

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the *dimer* clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them.

[764]

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Anthropos*, pp. 190, 191; and *Bonn Radio to Central Africa*, p. 998, &c.).

[2] *Gisio*, the heart, mind, soul; *el-aaaaidgwani*, the corpse, spirit, ghost.

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 191, 288; Baker-Austin, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 93; Gamil, *The Fiery*, p. 91; *Bonn Radio*, *loc. cit.*, p. 998, &c.). The Dinka hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whose daily homes blissfully receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 299).

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 199, 288).

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12 Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process.

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's home until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *enenkie*, that of another *ingera olaitolak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongop*. She takes over the child as her own, and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnuti landaru*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *olaiterua*. These last two categories of adoption can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai.

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or Iaiser's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol oshin*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee sharing and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the Iaiser's immediate family.

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they came in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the pure-stirpe in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — as in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman to trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *ramba*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the *Junior* to the *Senior Warriorhood* stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and live skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kudonk ol ngwesi*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *diniguro*.

The Diniguro.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *diniguro* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary lucerne huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunoto* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *diniguro* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunoto* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *diniguro*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *diniguro* is barricaded by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die.

The *diniguro* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who have not come try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also barricaded as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the watchfulness of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *diniguro* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During

12: Fan G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

are often called *I-Kipaka* or *Laikarian* (see Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIII.)[1] They shave all the girls with two-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much coiled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :—

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.
Must not drink blood or eat meat or touch it with the hand.
Must not wash.
Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).
Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.
Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Kipaka, plur. *I-Kipaka*, is the general word for any dance. (H., p. 291.)

Watershed.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Muratá e ntómo* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Muratá e ledjanga* = the circumcision of left.[2]

Each of these groups is called *O-gere*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *O-Tiapi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *O-Sakimá*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *O-ipi*, but it is also often loosely designated as *O-gere*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (a) Loita and Siria. (b) Kaiyoni, Il-Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kisongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the continual age have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation names.

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 300, but herein an indeterminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[3] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the names "right" and "left."
[2] The other generation names are Ilmoru, Ilpiro.

According to Belile, p.278,
/yat cum/ the Pleiades are only six stars among
the Ideal. Elsewhere in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
rock inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
Sargal symbol) the cross of the heaven of the religious tradition
of the Ideal, al-Ilmaqa, coincides strikingly with the expression
for prison, habth, in the old Ilmaqan inscriptions of Yemen (?).

5. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence
of the Ideal rumour that when one is inside
with her he places his spear in front of the hut as
that another will not enter (Jaussen, p. 103 and p.
104) with the Arabian rumour among the southern
Arabs (here only wall instead of spear) given by
Ibrahim (Book IV). -- Also that the "speaker" stands
at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South
Arabian (cf. hatt, chief, actually speaker, as well
as mikhl, "orator," probably has the same
etymology, cf. Syriac mekhl, speech).

The specifically Ethiopian word dangel, "virgin" (originally prob-
ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Ideal an-
dangla, "young woman" (after the circumcision) songs, al-
gamaan, in the Arabic al-hallifan, and cowbell, ang-gerengo,
the Arabic al-galgal, to-place, space, perhaps the Arabic al-fas,
needle. The name of the Ideal species angelgaan, from which
the Ideal take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Jaussen,
p. 37 and cf. p. 104, al-angelgaan), a vanilla-scented perfume,
is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense,
angl, just as in general the reinvention of the second half of a
word, popular among the Ideal (for example, galamlam, a /very/
rare name, alcalcal, a dwarf), is likewise in turn a peculiarity
of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color
names (example, gelil-gaan, yellow-green, hamelmel, green,
but also adamdam, terrible; bilil, and the Tigre plant names
gumbelbelo, sembelbel, tambelbam, and bambagingi). All these
are infinite traces that refer Werner's naming of the Ideal as
an originally Semitic old tribe, more specifically, an Arabian
people more fully purified.

/with copy./

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To come now to the early histories. It is to be emphasized at the outset that, for any Semitic people, every time we come to the early period, through linguistic comparison, research into names, and literary remains, we are already able to uncover a well-established mark of myths that come very close to the Biblical early history (dragon fight in connection with the creation of the world, tree of paradise and serpent, fire powers, flood) and furthermore, as religion, a moon cult (worship of the moon) to be described almost as henotheism. But we come across exactly the same thing, in its most original form, among our cattle nomads, the Ishmaelites. Whereby it should further be noted that also among the oldest Semites, whom we have to think of more as nomads than as agriculturalists, cattle, as their mythology clearly teaches, must have played a great role, not perhaps the small livestock of the camel and the donkey, to say nothing of the horse, which only became known from Elam to the Semites here around 2000 B.C.

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There is also the fact that among the Ishmaelites we find a series of positively ancient traits that bring us close to the first Arabian original homeland of all West Semites, and which otherwise come to us most clearly only in the religion of the ancient Christians (and then transformed into the more polytheistically accepted one of the Babylonians). To these belong first of all the struggle of the deity with the dragon Tiamat/Leviathan (or Rahab) (Gen. 1, with the Babylonian Ishtar (later popular pronunciation somewhat like Tiamat). It is certainly not merely an accidental homophony, since the word for paradise, Jannah, also goes back to the Babylonian word, "garden," which in the Ishmaelite period must still have sounded like the reconstructed Jarra (cf. similarly Babil Babylon, or Dan close still Babylon, and many other examples) (1).

1. When in Ishmaelite ex-Tiamat also means Eden, Paradise, Arabic again offers a striking analogy here: cf. Arabic al-Jalla (Jannat al-Firdaus), "Heaven," but al-Jannah, "Paradise."

/Lions/

the name El molt. Those who become mainly, however, are designated by the Ident as El lumbus and also as El kust -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kust. The canvas people, accordingly, call them Wakust, while they make no distinction between El molt and Ident and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

In contrast to the El molt, who have remained pure, the El lumbus of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the exotic features characteristic of the Ident people: in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

A last group, finally, become known, the El sabi. This is the newest branch of the Wanimalbe: the third and most recent, the El gwenik, arose from the Ident themselves, in that those impoverished by Livanuk's epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

Even up to 17 years ago the Ident were the lords of the vast steppes in Caenan and British East Africa, whom the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kimlapa Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimanderkaro and Meru. North of this line the province of Lelka, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Rudolf, the province of El Kenyan. In earlier times a part of Lake called Ki Wanigeri seems [illegible] to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (of which the o province) is divided into districts (ol gol): the lands and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be considered; others are drawn from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kimlapa-Ident, Lelka-Ident, Ewaligeri- or even Elmoru-, Meiler-, Segenet-Ident, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took the designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol sibet has been misinterpreted.

1. [The reference is to the last group of the original Swift--Ident pet.]

/A cont./

so that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of el oldeb-Wasait and el oldeb-Waisuft. El oldeb (sing. el oldebut) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandorobo, Waisuft, and the Masai blackguards (el kamus) designate their opponents, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be oolosh el ogis | el gob.

The Waisuft live in their colonies as more or less peaceful, ordinary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Ngongong /Mt. Masai/ in the Great Aroosha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandjaro, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their impetuousness, ferocity, and cunning equal that of the Masai in courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Waisuft and Masai is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow villagers, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil and own only a little livestock. They are fine one minute and friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties again raged so destructively among their herds.

While among the Waisuft one can still clearly recognize their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Aak. Most of them, just like the El molo, roamly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, ugly-tasted products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and bulbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

The 'L wuh and El ellinjan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El eulgana, whom they half-seriously, half-abusively also call 'N dzisra-gunuh (1)

1. 'N dzisra- glorana, or gunuh, the results by putting the two words together the idea of the law is supposed to be intensified.

or dzig-wiji-wugh-wini (2).

2. ; the lower of the hard vowels wugh a hard, or wini, the teeth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as dzig wiji or wuni. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El eulgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of human animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean 'greedy gluttons.'

The El laulja and El gaul are not subsequently designated as El eiangsin, a name formed after that of a war leader, El eujih. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two subtribes were once sometime cattle thieves.

The most interesting lineage, not only of the 'L wiwa tribe, but of the whole island people, is the El gaiuh, because both the family of the chief (of ellaun) and that of the sorcerer (of gaiuhi) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the of ellaun does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the free belief of his subjects in his prophecies and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the decisions of the people. Desperation and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, to whom the 'Ellaun) and Ank also are duly loyal. The people speak of his wisely power in timid awe, and no one would

[illegible]

/ni ceni/

[illegible] an origin of [illegible], on which people sit to eat. The most [illegible] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons [illegible]

1. Formed from the Gelogga /Kheggo/ word [illegible] the Ideni do not have a word of their own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons in former times.

[illegible] sharp knife for thick porridge [illegible], while [illegible] an [illegible] and a couple of knives [illegible] complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays

Ill. 14. Woman with pot's ladder.

spoons (formerly only the knife and whisk) are also carved out of wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes: sometimes a number of a stick on which leaves rest in such a narrative from a

[Warrior Grave]

/to cont./
of the fight,or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

Ill. 70. Graves in the warrior kraal 1.

the two lineages or the two tribes unite one on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which blood must against blood is called ai wokol (pl. ai'wokol), war ng ilâne (= /ngi/) or a war between blood and foreign tribes is called.

/ng/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal, for the most part he gads about on visits to neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime: a guard of at least two men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest may go visit or go ai bul (beer feast, see p.111 above) or with other people.

/Ub vom/

94.1 A fellow representative to Gadaidian child with the words ni gulagwi ni gub, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or ni dim ni gub, dirty fellow, or ga ami ni gub, dirty mama.

Inventive and comm ent:

• 97.1 ni gumdimi (or ni gumdimi) = darkness, an opposite of a decayed corpse

ni ng' imbabu (Mig ni ni ainib, which means may God give you the curious nickname "mimi");

ni nini = dim, dum, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt;

ni ngwenhenhenu = fall down;

ni ngwai 'ig ni, that is, may 'ig ni take you away;

ni ngwaidimi ni ngwai = may the scale bite you;

ni ngwinwen ni ngwa = may the lice devour you;

ni ngwaiwinib nig ning = go away along with the sun;

ni ngwinwen ni ngili = may your footplate be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Swearing expressions that may sometimes be woven richly are used by boys and youths to one another:

/Ub/

ni wudi ñ wuni = wuwenhenu wuni /one who lies with his mother/;

ni wudi nig wuwenhe = wuwenhenu wuni /one who lies with his sister/;

bai, nig wudi = bi, wuu (neuter gender) /those old fogies (neuter in gender)/;

bai, ni gwuu = wuu /homosexual/.

The last two are most nastily hurled by young girls to the ageless and the latter among themselves. Furthermore swearers brandish one another with ni dingwa = wuwenhenu wuni winenu /one who lies with another's wife/; and ni dinwai = avenged by the girls. ni wudi nig ibau bigi = wuwenhenu ñibau wuniinu wuu /one who lies with his eldest daughter/, ni wudi 'ig dinwai = wuwenhenu wubi wuwiu /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to be caught his wife such vulgar invectives but reference to her parents, the latter — according to the awareness of the people — would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

/tʃiŋ ɔwɔ/

578 192 ɔwɔ. From young girls among themselves one hears *ni ŋwɔ̀ŋ ɔwɔ* = *ɔwɔnkɔnɛ yɛɛ* /one who lies with her father/, *ni ŋwɔ̀ŋ ŋ ŋnɛ* = *ɔwɔnkɔnɛ kwɛɛ* /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by women toward young girls *kɛ ɔɔ kɔlɛɛ* = you, naive; *kɛ́ɛ, ŋ ŋkɔ́ɔ* = you, clitoris.

Younger children teach one another

kɛnnɛ́ɛ nɛ́ ɛɛnnɛ = vagina penis

ni ŋgɔnɛ́ɛ ŋ́ŋ ni = bend by 'ŋ ni'

nɛnɛ́ɛ́ = erection

ni ŋgɔnɛ́ɛ ŋ́ŋ ni = cry to God (when you get a beating)

ŋ ɛɛ = expel feces

kɛ́ɛ ni nɛnɛ́ɛ (ɔɔ ŋ nɛnɛ́ɛ) = you expel feces (expel girl)

ŋ́ ni ŋɔ́ŋɔ, you are a blackbird

ŋ́ ni kɛ́ɛ, you are a cowfly

ŋ́ ni ŋkɔ́ɔ nɛnɛ́ɛ, that is, you are indeed mad. The term *ŋ́ ŋkɔ́ɔ*, which here means madness, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-fronted *Euplectes audacioides*, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to West Africa. If one so much hears a calling as the wagtail from the left side, it means good luck, but if it calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

[134] [Fwɛ] [126]

ŋ́ ŋgɛ́ɛ ɔɔ kɛ́ɛ, that is, die by an arrow, *ni ŋgɛnɛ ni ŋgɛ́ŋ* = die of fever; *ni kɛnnɛ* = of the spots sickness; *ni ŋnɛ́ɛnɛ* = of smallpox; *ni ŋgɛnɛ́ɛ* = of measles or intestinal sickness; *ni ŋgɛnnɛnɛ ni ŋgɛnɛ* = only the three pick you; *ni ŋgɛnɛ́ŋ ni nɛnɛ* = any one body have two wrongs; *ni ŋgɛnɛ́ɛkɛ* = because there; *ni ŋgɛ́ɛnɛ* = rogue, traveler; *ŋ́ ni ni ŋnɛnɛ* = disaster, gossip; *ni ŋgɛ́ŋɛ nɛnɛ́ɛ* = bad talker; *ni ŋgɛ́ŋɛ ŋgɛ́ɛ* = coward.

201 192 913

To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

The large number of insectivorous mouth is common to a striking poverty in terms of subterranean.

/ŋ́ŋ́/ The mother designates her child as 'ŋ ŋkɛ́ŋ 'ŋ ni = child given me by God, as *ni ŋgɛnɛ́ ŋ́ŋ́* = mouth of the mother, or as *ni nɛ́ ŋ́ŋ́* = resting place of the mother. The latter calls it *ŋɔ́ŋɔ́* = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters call kindly to younger ones with the term *ŋɔ́ ŋ́ŋ́* = child of mother.

[illegible]

When one is often seen here the exercise flirt with the girls and here the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the exercise gives the girl is [illegible] = my darling, while the girl calls him [illegible] = my friend, or else says [illegible] = I love you very much, to which the exercise replies [illegible] = we shall see (literally [illegible] / I shall see or right).

XIII.

The blacksmiths. — Their own heads. — Their social position. — Attitude toward the blacksmiths. — Workshop. — Tools. — Iron extraction. — Technique. — Blacksmiths' products: their prices. — Wire drawing.

The heads of the blacksmiths (in Ashanti, apart from the true Akani heads. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith tribe, since there are blacksmiths [illegible] in all these tribes and also in all lineages, except the Bi Akwamu, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Akani, the despised and reviled, the outcasts, whom one would prefer not to mistreat if one did not need them so urgently. From earliest times the caste has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as [illegible]. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains [illegible], no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand — which happens only very exceptionally — a blood who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be counted as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith head [illegible] in the vicinity of other heads brings the latter bad

/111 cont./

luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el mõŋa l el kononi) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally being along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. Another Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the blacksmiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the ol kononi, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "It would not have happened if you had not spoken about the ol kononi last evening! we have so often told you this."

/112 cont./

564 326 [192] 784 [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it: it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kommi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 326 779 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous: if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

[563]

/156 cont./

802 after the other, from the little finger to the thumb, into the palm of the hand. While one then further counts in like manner on the fingers of the left hand, those of the right one remain closed and only the thumb is moved freely. After turning down the thumb of the left hand, the one counting raises both hands, now closed into fists, and says tomoo (= 11). For counting further, one begins anew in the same way and does not continue, say, on the toes.

[801] [171] The Ikwai count neither human beings nor cattle. It is believed, as the Israelites also did, according to 2e Chron. 31, that the one counted would die. Thus, they correctly estimate large multitudes of living creatures in round numbers, and small ones with quite great certainty. Only dead persons, for example, the fallen warriors, are counted individually.

• 192 824 [154] The names of the fingers might be mentioned here: thumb • ei mowo kitak, that is, the big old one. Index finger • ei ngwetibei or ei mokwong, that is, the sorcerer: if one wants to make someone ill through sorcery, one spreads the magic medicine under the nail of the index finger and, murmuring a curse, one points with it at the person concerned. Middle finger • ei gwiki, that is, actually the strip of skin worn ringlike on the middle finger. Fourth finger • ágwo eñ gwenja, that is, mother of the little finger, which is called eñ ginjenje or also eig tinda.

802 Ordinals: ei ainuigu • the first /masc./, ei laré • the second /masc./, ei inguni • the third /masc./; eñ ainuigu • the first /fem./, eñ laré • the second /fem./, eñ funi • the third /fem./. The /masc./ (the /fem./) (general), ei (eñ) ebeyei the last in the meaning of the rearmost is called ei ebeye ta gwom: the one standing on the right end of a row (to the right of the one judging) is called ei ebeye t' eñ gaina ertetenne (eñ gaina • the hand, ertetenne • on the right), the one standing on the other end, ei ebeye t' eñ gaina ebetilinje (ebetilinje • on the left).

Once is called nabo katá (or nabo gaá); twice, kat' aré; three times, kat' ui, etc.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Since the Ideal do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the female and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1987 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of grey and roan, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Ideal.

From the extensive inconsistencies in the literature, only the most important words are given here:

i gielu, cattle in general;
ol ildoni (*il ildoni*) or (very rarely) *ol ealgon*, bull;
ol gerod (*il rodi*), ox;
ol gerod (*il gielu*), cow;
ol gerod ealgon sabo, cow that has calved once;
ol gerod ildoni ang, cow that has calved twice;
ol gerod 'ldoni, cow that has calved a number of times;
ol gerod nimi, sterile cow;
ol gerlel (*il gerlel*), small calf in general, which may mean the least;
ol rendod (*il rendod*), older calf that is partnered further away;
ol eldo (*il eldi*), older calf that grows in the vicinity of the large livestock;
ol bolei (*il bolelog*), male calf;
ol melle or *ol ele* (*il melle*, *il ele*), male calf;
en ildo (*en ildon*), female calf;
eig melle (*ig melle*), female calf;
en elgira (*en elgon*), donkey in general;
ol emuli (*il emulish*), male donkey;
[illegible] en elgira nimi (*en elgira*), castrated male donkey;
en elgira (*en elgon*), female donkey;
en elgira ealgon sabo, female donkey that has foaled once;
en elgira elelod, female donkey that has foaled several times;
ol gurori (*il gururish*), male donkey foal;
eil gurori (*il gururish*), female donkey foal;
en olimo (*en olimon*), full-grown male [illegible] herd of small livestock;

[illegible]

/119 cont./

[illegible] (or wheat), full-grown female head of small livestock

[illegible] (or lambs), young male head of small livestock

[illegible] (or lambs), young female head of small livestock

[illegible] (or sheep), head of small livestock only a few days old

[illegible] (or calf), goat lamb

[illegible] (or gimmer), castrated goat lamb

[illegible] (or gimmer), doe goat

[illegible], doe goat that has dropped young several times

[illegible] of goat, doe goat that has not yet dropped young

[illegible] of goat, male kid

[illegible] or goat, female kid

[illegible] (or [illegible]), ram

[illegible] (or goat), castrated male

[illegible] goat (i goat), sheep

[illegible], sheep that has dropped young several times

[illegible] of goat, sheep that has not yet dropped young

[illegible] of lambs / of goat, male lambs

[illegible] of goat, female lambs.

[illegible] The far greater part of the steppe offers excellent pasture; only weather or longer isolated stretches are quite unsuitable for this. The Kirghiz know these precisely and scrupulously avoid them. What makes them unsuitable is few of all the occurrence of grasses that bring about digestive disorders and the lack of salt in sufficient quantities, through which a similar effect is brought about. In good pasturing places one always finds salt licks. The rain water standing in a depression in the ground has leached out the very saltiness earth and, after evaporation, has left behind a more or less strong, grey crust of salt. It is self-evident that one avoids those places about which the presence of the above-mentioned harmful insects is known. It is striking, however, that ticks are not found at all.

When the pasture around the kraal has been grazed off, a change of dwelling is decided upon, which takes place as soon as a new pasture ground has been found by a few people sent out. Then there is activity in the kraal long before daybreak. After the cows have been milked, the cattle moves off as the first party. Then the herds of goats and sheep follow, and after these /121/ the calves. Young

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Name	Name	Name	Name	Name
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Note.—Since writing the above I have heard from Mr. Arthur Evans (the author of *Illyrian Sketches in East Africa*, and a man whose knowledge of the El Dumbo is unrivalled). He tells me that he has discovered an isolated clan of these Dumbos in some hills near the Upper Nyira, and north of Mount Kenia. These people call themselves the El Mugogodo, and asserted that they were distinct from the Dumbos of Mau.

Mr. Evans collected a small vocabulary, which I append. I had hoped on the return of this research to discover that all the gipsy tribes would be found to speak an allied tongue, but most matters that up to now this view does not gather much support.

The following is Mr. Evans's vocabulary of the language of the Mugogodo :—

Arm	...	Ingle	
Bad	...	Bakki	
Blind	...	Angle	
Boy—to be born a boy		to Tha-ka	
Bread	...	Bonbo	
Brother	...	Pal	
Child (of other			
Cloth (of cotton)	...	Lora	
Come	...	Ava	
Cooking pot	...	Dekki	
Cow	...	Gorra	
Dog	...	Balo	
Ear	...	Kan	
Eat	...	Kha	
Eye	...	Yak	
Father	...	Dad	
Fire	...	Yag	
Flesh	...	Mas	
Foot	...	Pir	
Girl	...	Chai	
Go	...	Ja	
Good	...	Lach	
Hand	...	Hath	
Head	...	Sir	
Hear	...	Sun	
Horse	...	Grast	
House	...	Kher	
Kill	...	Mar	
Knife	...	Chori	
Leg	...	Pir	
Man	...	Manush	
Milk	...	Dudh	
Mother	...	Dai	
Nose	...	Nak	
Sister	...	Pen	
Sleep	...	Sov	
Stone	...	Bar	
Tooth	...	Dand	
Water	...	Pani	
Wife	...	Jan	
Woman	...	Jenni	

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